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monopolized industries. He would have the workers of the Standard Oil Company continue their activity in the management of the oil business; but, of course, under social control. This plan is greeted, one might almost say with scorn by the secretary of the Fabian Society.

When it comes to a question of vested rights and the payment for them, Kelly becomes fantastical. He would treat owners differently in accordance with the especial economic merits and needs. Surely it would take more than Plato's king, as described in his picture of an Ideal Society, to weigh the economic merits and needs of the various classes of owners of the United States Steel stock and bonds. It would take a god. John Stuart Mill favors at least a more workable, if not a juster, plan when he maintains that we should keep faith with those who have acquired property under social guarantees and with the approbation of society, and work out all plans of reform accordingly.

Noteworthy in Kelly's book is his broad treatment, for he endeavors to look at socialism from the political, scientific, and ethical points of view, as well as from the economic. Certainly a strong presentation of socialism is made for those for whom his book was especially intended, namely, the general public. We must pay the author the tribute of "sweetness and light"; and this we are especially glad to do, as he now has left us, and as, according to those who knew him personally, he was a man of high purposes and lofty character.

A refutation of Kelly's book means a refutation of socialism in its essential elements. And for the refutation this brief review is obviously not the place. A criticism of this particular work would take up Kelly's treatment of competition, the strength of which he does not appreciate. It would take up his treatment of necessary hours of labor, in which, along with other socialists, he overlooks many essential facts; and, finally, such a criticism would surely have much to say in regard to the capabilities of improvement which are immanent in the existing social order.

RICHARD T. ELY.

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Why I Am a Socialist. By CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL. (New York: Doran. 1910. Pp. 312. \$1.50.)

Mr. Russell has had a stimulating career as a reporter, traveller, special correspondent, poet and muck-raker, a career which

has left on his brain vivid pictures of dramatic events that he draws upon with fine art and feeling in this panorama of incidents which account for his being a socialist. Fundamentally his dissatisfaction with "Capitalist society" is based upon the contrasts between industrious poverty and indolent luxury that have often been exposed; but his telling is so fresh, so personal and so eloquent that the old story gains new point, the old pathos new power.

The book is meant for the non-professional reader, not for the economist. Therefore more attention is paid to the dramatic rendering of a sombre story than to economic reasoning. The author rather scorns than discusses or even reckons with the theories of economists. For example, he says "it is but a handy fiction to say that in industry labor and capital are equally necessary. All that capital does could be done as well without it. Capital erects the building for the mill. Good. But the building is really erected with the labor of men's hands, and it is easily conceivable that such labor might be had and the building be erected without capital, for each man employed might contribute his labor if he so desired." Such a passage shows a contempt for definitions and disregard for fundamental distinctions which makes argument hardly possible. Most socialists would affirm that capital is highly desirable, that only the capitalist is superfluous.

Mr. Russell foresees the inescapable downfall of the capitalist system of production when, all the nations having become industrial, all of them will produce a surplus which none will be left to consume. Every country will want to export; none to import. Then the investment of the surplus income of the wealthy in reproductive undertakings will be impossible, over-production will be chronic and the system will have worked to its own downfall—either into anarchy or socialism. This is analogous to Mr. Gaylord Wilshire's prediction that the completion of the machinery necessary to the most efficient production in America will bring, within a decade or so, such a crisis of unemployment that the high financiers themselves, seeing no other way out of the impasse, will inaugurate socialism. But to Mr. Russell his prophecy is incidental, while to Mr. Wilshire it is the essence of his scheme of socialist re-formation.

Also Mr. Russell holds capitalism responsible for all modern wars, and prophesies universal peace as a corollary to public ownership of the principal means of production. (Not all the

means. He has no dread, for instance, of trust control of the *paté de fois gras* industry.) Rather illogically he pictures with stunning force the orgy of the London crowd on the night Pretoria was entered by the British, and fails to see what a sickening demonstration that was, not of financial guile, but of brutal passion, misnamed patriotism.

But, though the work be vulnerable in spots, it is a fine example of the most valuable work, perhaps, which socialists are doing, the exposure of the injustice and cruelty which inheres in existing social arrangements—evils which some individualists as well as most socialists abhor.

JOHN MARTIN.

Karl Marx: His Life and Work. By JOHN SPARGO. (New York: B. W. Huebsch. 1910. Pp. 359. Price \$2.50.)

In this book Mr. Spargo presents the result of thirteen years of study and labor. Though the author disclaims for his work the title of a final authorized biography of the founder of modern political socialism, it will be long before the task is better done, if, indeed, it ever is. The author has drawn freely from all the known sources of information about the personal life of Marx and his family, especially from Mehring's *Geschichte der deutschen Sozial-Democratie* and *Aus dem litterarischen Nachlass*, etc., and from the files of many journals. He has interviewed known sources of information about the personal life of Marx intimately. The authorities for specific statements are indicated in part, and the volume is interestingly embellished with photogravures of Marx and his friends, of Marx's various homes, etc.

The most successful feature of the book is its presentation of the personality and private life of Marx and his family. Prime conditions to this result are a good literary style and the author's evident admiration and affection for his theme. Because to him every little thing seems to be worth while, he has given a chatty, gossipy and intimate account of his hero's life. He describes the friendship of Marx with Friedrich Engels, Heinrich Heine, Ferdinand Lassalle and many others. He portrays frankly and affectionately the trials and triumphs, the hopes and the soul-struggles, the loves and the hates, the appetites and the foibles, the temper and the serenity, the modesty and the vanity, the shrewdness and the insight, the learning, the logic, the sentiment, and the unpractical dreaminess of Marx. The book is thus interesting